000 smoke, and rub the incisions with the powder. They will then be able to aim straight (See Annotatio 15). The powder specially prepared from the tendons of slain enemies will be spread on the paths during future wars ; foes marching on it unknowingly will suddenly become unable to walk and will easily be killed.

The Zulus are said to have the same customs as the Pedis.

726 I cannot guarantee that all the Thonga clans observe all these
789 customs.[1] The Nkuna magicians, in olden times, before they were
278 influenced by their Pedi neighbours, used to dissect the tendons
751 of the back (riringa) of the slain enemy, which they smeared
826 with his medulla and hung to the shields of the warriors... Enemies seeing these shields would "tjemeka nhlana" — "have their backs broken," a figurative expression which means to be terror stricken. A part of the body was also preserved and mixed with the war-medicine ; the idea which underlies this custom being evidently this : when you have eaten the flesh of your enemies, you have absorbed all their strength and they are unable to do you any further harm (1). We have seen that the "mbhulo," the "nyokwekulu," all the powerful "medicines of the country" carefully kept in each clan, contain a little human flesh. These drugs are used as protective war medicines ; most probably owing to the same principle.

II. *The treatment of the slayers.*

727 To have killed an enemy on the battle-field entails an immense
775 glory for the slayers ; but that glory is fraught with great danger.

266 (1) This custom is the only remnant of anthropophagy remaining amongst the Thongas, and I wonder if this superstition is not the true explanation of the origin of cannibalism. Where cannibalism still prevails, as amongst the Faŋ of the Congo, I am told that the bodies eaten are generally those of hostile clans, or occasionally that of a wife (who belongs to another clan according to the laws of exogamy). Is it not probable that, in the beginning, these feasts had a ritual and military value similar to that which we find in the administering of the war-medicine in South African tribes? In the course of time, the Faŋ acquired a taste for human flesh and ate it for their own pleasure. Dealing with anthropophagy, I must not forget that it occurred in several instances in South Africa after the devastation brought about by the Zulu expeditions of 1820-1830. In Zoutpansberg, in the mountains of Drakensberg, Natives reduced to starvation began to eat their fellow men. This also happened in the Bokhakha during the reign of Queen Male. (See Part IV.)

[See pp. 476-477 -- Analyst]

1: Junod M-5 (1895-1909)1927 Thonga

PRACTICAL CONCLUSIONS

I. ON THE RITES OF INFANCY (P. 36-61).

853 The rule that a mother "must plough for her child three hoes" is
545 excellent. It is undoubtedly a splendid preparation for future life to
177 have been fed during three years on mother's milk. Will it be possible to maintain this law under the new conditions of civilized life which are being adopted more and more throughout the tribes? Let us notice that this provision, though it was inspired partly in the interest of the child itself, is dictated mainly by a superstition concerning the lochia secretion, which is regarded as highly noxious and as keeping the mother in an unclean state for a long time. This superstition will not withstand the test of science and will pass away. On the other hand, polygamy was invented and flourishes partly on account of this law. A husband separated from the wife who is nursing a child wishes to have other women at his disposal. Polygamy is doomed to pass also. For both these reasons, it is to be feared that this healthy custom will not be maintained in the future. This is a pity, and we ought to do our best to encourage its continuance.

843 Many young married Natives leave their homes and go to Johannes-
177 burg to the mines for one or two years as soon as they see that their wife is pregnant. This is certainly on account of the above rule; but this desertion of the conjugal home is hardly to be approved.

164 As regards the whole medical treatment characteristic of this period,
751 which is considered more or less as a disease, it has no value at all.
177 The big intestinal worm is, of course, merely a product of Native imagination. The children sometimes suffer from lombrics, but not more than white children. Convulsions are frequent as a result of malaria and dysentery, and neither the ever present *milombyana* nor the

l: Junod M-5 (1895-1909)1927 Thonga

164 bi-monthly *biyeketa* nor the powder of the reed can do anything to
751 prevent them. The habit of always carrying water in the calabash and
177 of never emptying it entirely is harmful. Dr Garin, our medical missionary, examined some of these milombyana calabashes with the microscope and found them full of bacteria of all kinds. It is a splendid *milieu de culture* for them. This milombyana custom is however hard to eradicate as the principle is deeply rooted in the Thonga mind : "The child grows by means of medicine" and even Christian converts respect it. They will relinquish it when a clearer notion of medical science has entered their heads — a time which is still remote, I fear!

000 From the missionary point of view, let us notice the analogy between the rite of the broken pot and Christian baptism as administered to children by most of the Churches. Natives readily accept a ceremony of benediction for the little ones, be it baptism proper or presentation with laying on of hands. But the heathen baptism is a baptism of smoke, and not of water — and is in relation to merely external dangers, while the Christian rite represents the purification of the soul from its sin and the new and pure life. Whatever may be the difference between the two customs, we find in the animistic rite a point of analogy which may help us to explain the spiritual sacrament and its deep significance.

II. ON CIRCUMCISION (See p. 94).

177 What judgment are we to pass on this custom to which some tribes
797 still cling with great pertinacity ? The teaching of endurance and of hunting has certainly some value, but these rites as a whole have very little worth and are useless in the new economy of South Africa. The obcene language allowed during the Ngoma certainly tends to pervert the mind of the boys and constitutes an immoral preparation for sexual life.

Have we nothing to learn from the Ngoma ? More than two hundred thousand children of black South Africa are now attending our schools... more or less regularly. Hundreds of young men are boarding in our Normal Institutions. Do we always succeed in this great educational work ? Its results are not entirely satisfactory, because most of the children do not stay long enough in the school to be properly taught. As soon as they have acquired some knowledge of reading and writing, they leave and go to the towns to earn money.

refused to communicate his secret. He belonged to the Chopi tribe. The Ba-Pedi forbid sexual relations to lepers. 757

A nursing woman who has no milk must take a certain Euphorbiacea shrub called *nete*, containing a milky juice, crush it in the mortar, cook it in water and drink it. When a cow refuses to feed her calf Natives smear the calf with the *ribvumbara* herb, which has a pleasant odour. The cow smells this, and allows the calf to suck. 853

The treatment of *sterility* has already been described (I. p. 190) Mankhelu tried to cure it by digging a root of *Nembe-nembe* and one of *Nhlangovume* ; he cooked both together, and ordered the woman to eat them during a period of six days, mixing them with her food. This drug was considered as "closing her" (pfala), so that she would no longer have her "tihweti, "and thus be enabled to conceive. In the meantime, she had to undergo the horola or hondlola rite, which I shall describe presently. 842 278

Small-pox, nyedzane, was on several occasions introduced by the Whites, or by the Zulu armies on their return from their Northern raids. There have been at least five or six epidemics in the neighbourhood of Lourenço Marques during the last fifty years. 164

I had the opportunity of witnessing the last in 1918 in Rikatla and thus obtained first-hand information on the way Natives treat this disease and on their strange ideas concerning it. I published a detailed account of these in the S. A. *Journal of Science*, July 1919, and will give here a description of the most important of these *customs connected with small-pox amongst the Ba-Ronga*. When small-pox has invaded the country and reached the borders of the territory of a clan, the headmen assemble at the chief's residence and decide to proceed to the general inoculation of the population. This is a remedy which they have long been accustomed to use. They have noticed that the disease is milder when produced by inoculation with the virus than when it *hahela*, i. e. flies to the person. (There is some truth in this assertion ; the protection afforded however is not very effective, and severe and even fatal cases often follow the inoculation. It does not always secure immunity from a second attack.) The virus is provided by the people of a neighbouring clan who have already been attacked by 751

751 the disease, and it is the *batukulu* of the chief, his nephews, the sons of his sisters, who are sent to procure it. Are they not the favourites of their maternal uncle? (I. p. 222). Nobody could suspect them of bringing misfortune into the village of their *bakokwana*! The particular ntukulu who must render this service to the country is designated by the bones. The bones also indicate the village of the neighbouring clan to which he must go to fetch the virus. The serous fluid is taken from old people or from children, who have no sexual intercourse ; we already know the reason for this. The ntukulu inoculates himself and his comrades and returns home ; when their pustules are ripe, they inoculate all the members of the clan who have not yet suffered [784] from the disease.[1] From this day begins for the whole clan a distinct marginal period, with all the taboos accompanying the critical phases of the life of the community. No one is allowed to wash his body. Absolute continence is imposed on all. Salt is prohibited, as it is said to make the blood flow more quickly in the body and it may cause the wounds to become sore.

164 751 755 But in addition to the ordinary taboos, some other measures are taken which are dictated by the special nature of small-pox. This disease, amongst Black people, manifests itself in two forms, which may be called the white and the black. The former is much milder than the latter. In it the pustules are large, superficial, scattered all over the body and well separated from each other ; the skin is discoloured over them and becomes whitish ; they soon dry up and do not leave deep marks. In the second form, which is the confluent and haemorrhagic type of the disease, the pustules are small, black, continuous with each other, and full of blood ; they soon discharge a nasty fluid ; fever is high and death may intervene.

751 755 The whole aim of the treatment is to promote the mild, white form of small-pox and to prevent the black form. It is therefore taboo to eat any meat containing blood, which is black and must therefore be avoided. On the contrary, fish meat is allowed because it is white and contains no dark blood. Another device of Native doctors to obtain this result is to place before the eyes of their patients grains of mealies, which are white like the desired pustules and are also similar to them in form, and to prevent their

[1] [Small-pox--analyst]

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846 853 As regards *the child*, the umbilical cord is anointed every day ; he begins to take the breast and drink the "*milombyana*," the great medicine which we shall describe later on.

During these days many taboos must be observed :

The *husband* is not allowed to enter the hut on any pretext ; this is not on account of his being unclean, quite the contrary. A birth does not contaminate the father amongst the Ba-Thonga as it does in other tribes. He is not obliged to undergo any medication. His exclusion from the conjugal hut is due entirely to the fact that his wife is polluted by the blood of the lochia, and he would run the greatest danger to himself if he came near.

846 854 *All married people* are also excluded (bakhili) viz. all those who have regular sexual intercourse. Should they touch the child, he would die. If however a woman wishes very much to go and see the new-born, she must abstain from relations with her husband during two days. Then she can be admitted into the hut. On the other hand young girls are welcome in the hut, but they must not kiss the baby during these first days. "It is not yet firm ; it is only water," as they say ; later on, when it begins to laugh and to play, they may kiss it. Even the father may do so then ; when he comes back from a journey, he holds it in his arms and kisses it on the temple. Supposing that the 846 umbilical cord has now fallen off normally, the confinement period will be at an end. This termination is marked by two rites.

The mother of the delivered woman will have *to smear with clay the floor of the hut*. This is the great cleansing act which brings to an end a marginal period. It takes away all the dangerous blood, and the husband as well as all the other dwellers in the village will be allowed to enter the hut.

846 751 279 825 The second act is *the rite of the broken pot* (ku tjibelela shirengelen, viz. to make fire under the shirengele, the bit of broken pot used for the purpose). This is a medical treatment and a religious ceremony combined. It is performed by the family doctor on the threshold of the hut in the following way : he puts into this piece of broken pottery pieces of skin of all the beasts of the bush : antelopes, wild cats, elephants, hippopotami, rats, civet cats, hyenas, elands and snakes of dangerous kinds, and roasts

846 751 825 278 856 them till they burn. The smoke then rises, and he exposes the child to it for a long time : the body, face, nose and mouth. The baby begins to cry ; he sneezes, he coughs ; this is just what is wanted. Then the doctor takes what remains of the pieces of skin, grinds them, makes a powder, mixes it with *tihuhlu* (1) grease of the year before last and consequently hard enough to make an ointment. With this ointment he rubs the whole body of the child, especially the joints, which he extends gently in order to assist the baby's growth.

846 751 853 All this fumigation and manipulation is intended to act as a preventive. Having been thus exposed to all external dangers, dangers which are represented by the beasts of the bush, the child may go out of the hut. He is now able "to cross the foot prints of wild beasts" (tjemakanya mitila) without harm. Snakes will not bite him, at any rate their bite will not hurt him ; lions will not kill him. The remainder of the powder is put into a little bit of reed closed at both ends, which the mother has to carry with her during the whole nursing period in order to continue the treatment.

846 755 763 821 This rite of the broken pot is also the great preventive remedy against the much dreaded ailment of babies, *convulsions*. If a child suffers from this, they will say : "a tlalile shirengelen," viz. "he did not find any help in the broken pot" and the parents will go to another doctor whose drugs are more powerful, to have the child once more exposed to the smoke. It may even be that a grown-up man will undergo this treatment again, if he has been ill with convulsions, but, in this case, the broken pot with its pieces of skin is put on the head of the patient, which has been first covered with a wisp of cuscuta (hare dja yendjeyendje). The great aim of all the medication of children by the "milombyana" is also to fight against convulsions, as we shall see (2).

(1) The tihuhlu are the seeds of the nkuhlu tree known under the name of mafureira. They are oleaginous and the fat (mafura) obtained from them is very much used for external applications amongst the Thongas.

(2) In *Savage Childhood* p. 12, Dudley Kidd describes this "baptism of smoke" amongst Zulus. Some dirt is scraped from the father's body and is mixed with other drugs in order to impart to the child his ancestral spirit. Another ingredient

neta as a medecine. The shrub, which is an Euphorbiacea, contains milky sap. It is a treatment based on the principle : Similia similibus curantur.

The Thongas believe that milk alone would never suffice to make a child grow : *Ñwana a ḳula hi miri, the child grows by medicine*, such is the adage which is universally met with. When you see a woman carrying a child on her back, you will notice hanging to the *ntehe* the reed (lihlanga) containing the black powder which protects against the dangers of the bush, and a little calabash half filled with water. This water is not pure water, it is the medicine called *milombyana*. This word is the plural and diminutive form of *nombo*, which means baby's ailment. There is a great *nombo*, convulsions, also called *tilo*, heaven, because this complaint is brought into a mysterious connection with the influence of Heaven (See Part VI). There is a small *nombo* ; this is the infantile diarrhea which so often troubles little children ; but both diseases are supposed to be caused by the *nyoka*, the intestinal parasite, the worm or snake (nyoka means both) which is in every child and must always be combated because, if unchecked, it will pass from the bowels to the stomach ; it will come and beat the fontanella (1) and will finally penetrate the chest. Then the little one will turn up his eyes, be seized by convulsions and die. Happily there are some drugs which have a wonderful effect on this dangerous guest ! One of my neighbours, who was a convert in Rikatla, gave me their names. The first is a very common Protacea (?) with large husks called the Dlanyoka, "the one which kills worms." Mixed with the roots of a Leguminacea called *Ñwamahlanga* and with two other plants found near the sea, it forces the worm to keep quiet. These drugs are boiled and the decoction is carefully poured into a special little pot called *hlembetwana ya milombyana* which will be kept in the hut. Every morning the mother will warm the pot a little, pour some of its contents into a shell of sala and give the child a

(1) Tjaba-tjaba, the fontanella, plays a great part in the diagnosis of children's doctors and they often cover it with black wax. When the child hiccoughs, his mother or somebody else will blow on the fontanella to prevent vomiting. This will "make his heart stand" (yimisa mbilu).

856 731 757 854 mouthful to drink, then dip her finger into the medecine and let two or three drops fall from it on the fontanella ; then she spits on the lower part of the shell and presses it all along the sternum of the baby as far as the navel. This is said to "nurse the child, to make him grow." Should he be sick, this treatment will be repeated many times a day. If he is well and goes about with his mother, she will pour the *milombyana* into the small calabash and give him a few sups from it from time to time.

853 271 2/84 The child must never drink ordinary water, but only the *milombyana* decoction. It is a taboo. Should the mother travel far from home and leave behind her the *milombyana* pot, she is allowed to add some water to the calabash, but she must always leave a little of the decoction in the calabash before doing so. The mother herself is not allowed to drink the water of another country. She must only drink water from home and, if she is forced to travel, she must take a little powder from the reed each time she drinks, so that the child may become familiarised with that country (1). These laws must be kept during all the nursing period.

862 The child begins to eat *solid food* as soon as his teeth are cut, and when he is able to take it with his own hands. But some people do not like to give it to him too soon, as they say his stools become fetid. When later on he is able to go outside and to take care of himself, then he can eat any ordinary food.

853 If the mother dies during the nursing period, the little one is almost sure to follow her. The baby is fed with goat's or cow's milk, but the Natives do not know that they must add water to it ; sooner or later therefore the child dies of enteritis.

I have heard of some cases in which another woman has taken charge of the child, nursed him with her own milk and weaned him successfully ; her own child being older, she weaned him earlier than the usual time and nursed the other child in his

261 4/84 (1) A similar custom is observed in the case of moving from one country to another. When a Ronga comes back from Kimberley having found a wife there, both bring with them a little of the earth of the place they are leaving, and the woman must eat a little of it every day in her porridge in order to accustom herself to her new abode. This earth provides the transition between the two domiciles!

852 [854] permissible to push him gently by his elbows and 3) to sing him songs to console him (khongota) when he cries. This was taboo before the presentation to the moon.

There is another custom which seems to be confounded sometimes with the yandla. It is also performed for small children and is called : *kulakulisa*. When a friend of the family passes through the village coming from afar, from Johannesburg for instance, he takes the new-born child in his arms, throws him up and says : "Kula-kula-kula, u ya tlhasa Johan." (Grow, grow, grow and reach Johannesburg.) This is a minor custom (nau nyana) ; it is more or less play and is not tabooed like the yandla.

854 278 731 832 After the yandla, a new therapeutic agent is added to the decoction of milombyana, the *biyeketa*. *Ku biyeketa* means : "to put inside an enclosure." Twice a month during the afternoon, when the moon is new and when it is full, the family doctor goes to the kraal of the baby, he lights a fire before the door of the hut and cooks his medicines with water in a pot till they boil. Then he draws the embers to one side of the pot and lays on them a big pill, a *mhula*. The *mhula* is made of fat from an ox paunch or from a goat's paunch mixed with medicinal powder. Then he places a mat on end so as to make a small round enclosure : mother and baby enter it, and he covers them with a piece of cotton cloth. They expose themselves to the steam which comes from the pot and to the smoke which emanates from the mhula. When both have copiously perspired and the emanation has come to an end, the mother tells the doctor to uncover them, and they emerge from the vapour bath. Then the doctor cuts both of them with a razor on the forehead, on the sternum, on the spine between the shoulders, on the elbow, on the wrist, on the knees and introduces a little of his medicinal powder into the small wounds. The pot with the hot decoction is then taken by the doctor behind the hut, the mother accompanying him. She pours a little of the water into his hands : he spits into it, uttering the sound *tsu* (which is the sacramental act in ordinary worship) and throws it on the child. The mother rubs the whole body of the little one with it ; in the meantime the doctor prays to his gods, viz. the spirits of his ancestors. Begining with the formula of invocation which doctors

852 834 731 always use, he says: "Abušayi, akhwari! This is the child! May he grow! May he become a man by means of this medicine of mine! May his perspiration be good; may the impurity go away; may it go to Shiburi, to Nkhabelane! (1) May the child play well, be like his companions. This is not my first attempt! You have given me these drugs; may they protect him against disease so that nobody may say there is no power in them; etc." After this prayer the doctor takes the little child and goes back to the central place of the village. The mother stays and washes her own body with the decoction, praying also to her gods (but without the *tsu*, as this has been uttered by the "master of the drugs").

751 854 177 757 The treatment of the biyeketa is also called "hungulo dja milombo," "the vapour bath for infantile diseases;" it is not a curative, but a preventive; it aims at ascertaining if the child is all right. If he has bad stools (a nga tlambi psinene) the mother will perhaps remember that she has forgotten to enclose him and she will call the doctor in at once. Should he fall sick, the biyeketa will not be performed again but the milombyana will be administered more frequently. However, it is of importance for the growth of the child. To neglect it is taboo! (2)

757 854 As for the cuts, sometimes they are followed by a second vapour bath, as if the doctor wished to cause the medicine contained in the smoke to penetrate through them into the body, in which case he will only "close" them later on by introducing a healing powder into them. Children generally cry when they see the physician... They dread the pain of the cuts. When the mother goes to the doctor's village, she takes with her the wood, the mat and a pot of beer or a fowl in payment. The physician's charge for a biyeketa is sixpence to one shilling or a hen or a pot of beer.

(1) Viz. to the end of the world. These clans are far away to the north, outside the Ronga country.

(2) I hear that the converts generally have not abandoned the biyeketa, but they do not allow the doctor to perform the sacrificial act and to pray to the spirits. Sam Ngwetsa, the children's physician of Rikatla used to pray thus: "O Father of mercy! I pray thee! I do not pray the dead but thee only who art in heaven! Grant us to see this child in good health, standing firm, this little lamb!"

1) THE CUSTOM OF THE EROTIC DREAM (Tilorela).

881 When a young man has noticed for the first time an emissio
195 seminis, he is said to have become an adult (a kulile, a thombile)
751 to have "drunk the nkanye." The nkanye is the tree from which the bukanye is made. It is prepared for the great feast of the new year. *To drink the nkanye* is an euphemism to designate the entrance into a new phase of life, into the age of puberty. According to Mboza, the lad must go early in the morning to wash his body, and that is all. But Tobane says that, in the Mpfumo clan, the family doctor is called; in a broken pot, he roasts pieces of skin of all the beasts of the veldt, together with some half digested grass taken from the stomach of a goat (psanyi). The boy must eat a little of this medicine and rub all his joints with it. This will strengthen him so that, when he has relations with girls, he will not be overcome (gemiwa) by them. This rite, which is very similar to the rite of the broken pot performed for infants, is connected with the "gangisa," the sexual habits of young people which begin at the time of puberty, as we shall see later on.

881 At this time also, the boy begins to wear the very primitive
291 clothing called *shifado* (sha ku siba, the thing with which one
177 closes, see Annotatio I). In former times they wore only the *mbayi*,
789 a small cylindrical or conical object of woven palm leaves, which
832 was the national dress of the Thongas; the *shifado* seems to be of Zulu origin. It is very much valued as preventing contact with the earth, as a protection against ants and an aid to continence; the lads who do not wear it are blamed and accused of being *ba-nato*. The word *nato* means a magical medicine by means of which men of low morals throw men or women into a deep sleep during the night, enter the huts of other people and commit adultery with their wives.

2) THE PIERCING OF THE EARS (Ku tjunya, (Ro.), boshela. (Dj.).

881 This also takes place at this period. There are two ways of
304 performing it, either by an actual piercing of the lower lobe
177 with a thorn, or by cutting it with a knife. The first method

[See p. 516 IN these categories or IN 116 -- Analyst]

animals are taboo for girls : the *hare* because it is too cunning ; and the antelope *nhlengane*. This antelope raises the foot when it hears a noise ; hence the idea that its leg is hollow and that it perceives the sound through it. The child would do the same, if its mother were to eat the meat of the nhlengane. It would be unable to hear with its ears, only with its hands!

The *legs* of fowls (tibias) are also taboo for all women, because the hen scatters the sand... So are the *hoofs of oxen*, and *pigs' feet*. A woman eating them would walk too much... She would go everywhere to look for husbands!

It is taboo for a girl to *walk amongst pumpkin plants* (maranga), to pluck the fruits. She is only allowed to pluck those which can be reached from outside. Were she to transgress this law, she would emit a bad odour, and no boy would court her. Her mother, having no fear of being despised, can walk amongst the pumpkins. A second taboo relative to pumpkins is this : unmarried women must cut a "pumpkin nose" (nhompfu) viz. the end of the stem, and fix it at their waist when plucking the pumpkins, lest they get abcesses in certain regions of their body.

It is taboo for them to eat cooked *oxen blood* (bubendje). The following taboos apply also to *married women*. They are not allowed to eat what is called *nkopfu*, viz. some parts of the bowels which are cooked together with the stomach of the ox. "It would spoil the child inside." The *testicles*, which are generally given to the uterine nephew when the meat is distributed according to the laws, and the *underlip* of any animal are also forbidden to them. So is also the *tongue*... because it is reserved for old people as a mark of respect! The *rectum* (gobana) is taboo for women and children. Children might make unseemly noises from the rectum! Women must abstain from *porcupine* and *monkeys' flesh* ; all their offspring would resemble these animals. Such cases have happened, it is said! Women must not eat *eggs* ; they would run a double danger : their child might be born bald and remain so ; or they might be like a hen, which runs in all directions when laying an egg. They would have no peace in child bearing! (See also page 101.)

Nubile girls, during their "tiwheti," must not *approach th*

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643 857 However, specially appointed persons watch over him and report of his well being to his father. His youthful playmates are taught to respect him ; he is surrounded in his games by a miniature court, from which he chooses his favourites (tinxekwa) ; some of his companions act as counsellors and reprimand those who do not treat him with due respect. They play at court... also at soldiers ; the juvenile troop wage war with the wasps, and also with the boys of the adjoining villages.

643 787 777 751 782 When the child reaches boyhood, the bones are consulted, and sacrifices offered in order to ascertain from the gods whether it be well to take him to the capital. Should the answer be in the negative, there is nothing to do but wait. When the dice declare the propitious moment to have arrived, the transfer is effected and the boy taken to his father. This is a great occasion for the counsellors who have watched over the boy and who thenceforward supervise his education. They feast themselves well (ba fumisana), kill goats, perhaps even an ox, and offer a sacrifice to proclaim to the gods the return to the capital of the heir to the throne ; to his ankle is tied the astragalus of a slaughtered goat, as a protective amulet.

643 881 836 At puberty the boy undergoes, in the same manner as his companions, all the ceremonial rites usual at that period. The principal doctors of the country treat him, in order that henceforth he may be a man (ba mu yimisa a ba wanuna), having full right to enter into the sexual relations of gangisa (p. 97). Care is taken, however, to attach to his person comrades of riper age, who will prevent him giving way to excesses, (suka banhwanyana la' bakulu ba ta mu gema, ba mu sibela ku kula), which would arrest his growth and render him small and feeble. He thus lives in relative continence, participating in the play and in the work of boys of his own age, and looking after the herds. At times he gives a feast, when his father happens to have presented him with an ox with which to make merry.

643 538 595 Now we see him arrived at manhood, at the age when the Blacks take a wife. If his father is still living, the young man is not allowed to marry officially. He may certainly lobola, viz., contract regular marriage in the usual way, and possibly

"when the Ba-Khosa had emerged from the reed" (See Vol. II, Part VI, III). Nobody might see it except the chief, who kept it hidden somewhere in a hole amongst the rocks. His uterine nephew alone (ntukulu) knew the place, and when it was necessary to use it in order to pray to the deceased chiefs, the chief and his nephew alone were permitted to approach the hiding place ; those who accompanied them had to stop at a distance. This mhamba is lost. Even the chief Ntshongi, who was the paramount chief of the Ba-Khosa at the beginning of this century, had never seen it. It had been taken by his predecessor Mavabaze and had disappeared during the political troubles of the Gungunyana's war. Thus it is impossible to say of what it consisted, and this will probably never be known. There is no doubt however, that it was used for the same purpose as the mhamba of the Tembe and Shirindja. Its magical and religious power came from the fact that it was anointed with the "nsila" of the deceased chiefs. On the death of a chief, his "nsila" i. e. the layer of filth resting on his body, was taken away and the mhamba was rubbed with it. This gave the reigning chief the power to influence his ancestor-gods, in accordance with the magic principle : the part influences the whole. It is said that in former times the Khosa chief Shihanyisane having ill-treated his two younger brothers, Malashwane and Shalati, these two men succeeded in taking the chieftainship away from him with the aid of the Ñwamba clan. Eventually Shihanyisane made peace with his brothers and gave over the mhamba to Malashwane : a proof that this mysterious object was in truth considered as the most important attribute of chieftainship.

These regalia are not indeed very imposing to the eye. Thonga royalty had no brilliant insignia... But it had more than that! Each clan possessed a special medicine whose magical virtues were greatly esteemed ; its possession made the chief invincible, the warriors invulnerable, the country unconquerable. This powerful charm is called *mbhulo* (Dj.), *mphulo* (Ro.).

Amongst the Nkunas, the mbhulo is called *Ñwantikalala*. It is kept by those belonging to the Mushwane house, and a man called Papalati is responsible for it. It consists of four calabashes, two male and two female (medicines are considered as having sex,

643 789 751 see Part VI) called Madyakakulu, Ñwahondyane, Mbengatamilomu, Masemane. The bones are always consulted to ascertain which calabash (nhungubane) must be employed. The uses of this medicine are as follows. Every year it is mixed with the first fruits in the ceremony of *luma*, which will be described later on. In war time the mbhulo is employed to "fence the country." Envoys go to all the drifts on the boundary, take stones out of the river, smear them with the magical powder and place them on the roads, at the crossways ; should enemies invade the country, they will be deprived of their strength. The weapons also are sprinkled with a decoction made of this royal medicine, as we shall see, and it 643 is given to the chief to prevent disease. The father of Papalati was 687 accused of having sold some of this powerful national drug to the Pedi chief Sikororo, an act which amounted to high treason.

643 I have been fortunate enough to be informed of all the rites connected with the royal medicine in the Mazwaya clan. There, it is called *nyokwekulu*, a word which is probably derived from the verb ku nyuka, to melt. Let Mboza tell us, with awe and profound conviction, of the marvels of this wonderful drug. He was present at its preparation in the year 1893, before the war scattered the clan and destroyed its military power.

644 Each year the nyokwekulu is renewed. Its exact composition 789 is known only to one man, Godlela, the royal magician and priest, to whom the care of preparing it is entrusted. This man belongs to the house, or sub-clan, of Tlhatlha. He is very much feared. Nobody dares to dispute with him, and he has the right of cursing even the chief. His function is *hereditary*. His father Malubatilo was in charge of the nyokwekulu before him. The law of succession is this ; when the elder brother dies, the position is held by his younger brother. The headmen of the tribe box his ears and say to him : "You will be the master of the medicine! Take great care of it." When all the brothers are dead, it passes to the sons.

So, when the right time of the year has come, the chief consults the bones. The first thing to do is to send messengers all over the country to find a *forked branch*, a "shiphandje," to which the calabash containing the medicines will be hung.

535 An extraordinary war spirit comes over them all..." And every
703 one having witnessed these performances in the Thonga or Zulu mukhumbi will confess that they are wonderfully impressive. It is a mixture of dramatic, epic and lyric poetry, three literary *genres* which are still confounded, the whole being enhanced by a deep, wild music and subject to the laws of a certain artistic style.

703 The fighting instincts are excited to the highest pitch by these
643 patriotic choruses and dramatic representations. Thus should
726 the troops be slow in making a start, the young men go dancing to the chief and beg him to "grant them permission" to go forth and slay, or rather to "give them men" to slaughter (ku nyika). The Native idea appears to be that the chief holds the lives of the enemies in his hands ; without his permission they cannot go forward, but this once given, they rush enthusiastically to the fray. They even go so far as to taunt him with being an old woman, a coward, because he will not let them go at once (1).

When the excitement has reached the culminating point, and it has been definitely decided to fight, the time has arrived for the magic treatment by which the warriors will be rendered invulnerable.

G. ADMINISTERING THE WAR-MEDICINE.

726 This custom is probably of ancient origin, but I have reason
177 to believe that, amongst the Ba-Ronga, it was practised without
789 any great formality until the advent of the Zulu influence, when
751 it was brought into much greater prominence and invested with more solemnity. "Drinking the war-medicine" took place on several occasions during the revolt of 1894 to 1895. At *Zihlahla* this potion was administered to all warriors before the rebel attack

(1) Gungunyana, on one occasion, when his warriors were importuning him with similar requests, sent the more ardent spirits to wage war unarmed against the wild beasts, and I was told they actually succeeded in capturing a leopard alive and brought it back to the chief !

1: Junod M-5 (1895-1909)1927 Thonga

726 on the town of the 14th October 1894 ; also prior to the ambuscade
789 in the outskirts of Lourenço Marques, on the 7th January 1895,
751 and before the battle of Morakwen, the 2nd February following. According to my informant, the chief doctor of the army prepared the medicine in a huge dish with leaves and roots cut into slices. These ingredients possessed an effervescent quality ; the medicine-man stirred up the decoction and with it sprinkled the whole army formed in a circle. After this every warrior was fully persuaded that he was invulnerable, that the bullets would be deflected on either side of him, or, even should they hit him, they would be flattened against his body and fall harmless to the ground. The charm could only be broken by the warrior turning his back to the foe. Then the bullets might pass through him. I have met with very intelligent Natives who were perfectly convinced of this fact, although open to reasonable argument on all other points. They told me that certain Natives who were bowled over by grapeshot, picked themselves up after the fight, came to life again, or rather regained consciousness and then, with their fingers, extracted the bullets, which had all remained imbedded in the skin!

A *Nondwane* warrior described to me, in the following terms, the administering of the magic potion, as it was done on the 7th January 1895 before the battle of Morakwen. The whole army was assembled at Nkanyen, on the bank of the Nkomati. It was there that the magician prepared the medicine, with two young girls as assistants. While he was brewing the mixture and making it froth, the soldiers, formed in a semi-circle, looked on, standing erect, poising their assagais on a level with their
726 heads. Then a *ntjhopfa* was cut down (the shrub of oblivion,
789 often employed by Native doctors and of which we have already
751 noted the use in other ceremonials) and a branch laid across the
824 road. The several battalions were called up, one after the other, and every man had to jump over the branch and take a mouthful of the medicine, which he spat out again, pronouncing the sacramental *tsu* which accompanies the offerings made to the gods : he subsequently went off, running and dancing and getting ready to go forth and kill. When each one had taken his share of the medicine and it was all finished, the doctor said to them : "Now I

726 have given you all my strength ; go and slay." They crossed the
789 river at night and having reached the left bank, at a point about ten
751 kilometers from the Portuguese camp at Morakwene, they were made to observe the strictest silence for a long time. Then they felt that valour (burena) had taken possession of them!

Amongst the Ba-Nkuna the war-medicine is also administered under the form of *sprinkling*. This sprinkling may take place in time of peace, when danger threatens. The chief kills a black ox and the army, summoned to the capital, is sprinkled and eats the flesh of the ox. This will make the country ready for any eventuality. But the ceremony is much more serious when war is at hand. Then the "great medicine of the country," carefully kept in the calabashes of the Court magicians, is mixed with *pamyi* of slaughtered sheep and with white sand taken from the river. During the night, the mukhumbi is formed and all the men sit down, their heads bowed over their knees,
726 their eyes closed, in perfect silence. Then one of the queens,
789 an old woman who no longer has any sexual relations, enters
751 the circle, absolutely naked. She dips a leafy branch into the
562 magical infusion and marches all round, inside and outside, sprinkling all the warriors and muttering the following words : "Kill them, break their pots, kill their dogs, catch their chief, bring him here, bring so-and-so and so-and-so." The warriors tremble with emotion. They pray to their gods in a low tone : "Save me! Help me!" But none of them dares to raise his eyes! They know quite well that they would die!

It is extremely important that the officiating woman should be old and have had no sexual relations for a long time, or "the assagais would lose their strength ; the masculine weapons would become blind and the feminine weapons alone would see... The woman would have untied the knot of the assagai ; she would cross the way (tjemakanya) of the great medicine... She must be a quiet woman (a rula)". (Mankhelu).

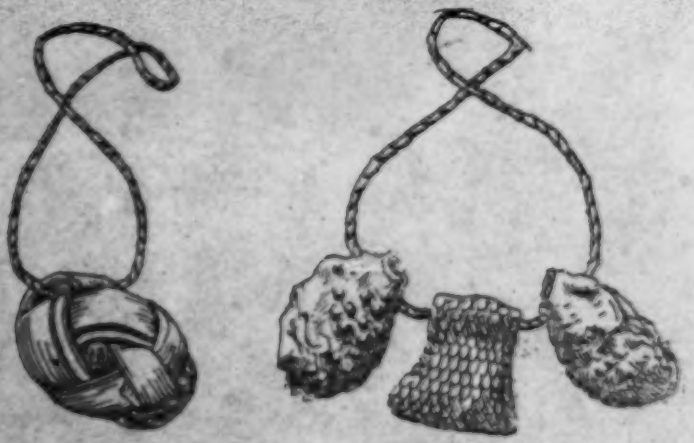
726 Similar customs exist in *Mapatju*, where the medicine is called
789 "the medicine of hatred,"—that which dispels all natural feeling
828 and makes a man capable of killing his fellow-man! I give the particulars of this curious medical treatment as I have them from

seeing grains of Kafir corn, which are of a dark colour. Grains of mealies are softened in water, pierced through and made into necklaces which patients wear round their necks, whilst the spikes of Kafir corn, which are to be found in every hut fixed to the reeds of the roof as seeds for the next season, are carefully taken away and hidden somewhere in the bush during the whole time of the epidemic. Should the malignant form of small-pox develop notwithstanding all these precautions, the headman will shake his head and tell the parents of the patient: "Hahlani! — Make an offering." But in this particular hahla no real offering will be made, and the prayer will not be addressed to the ancestor-gods. The principal words of this prayer are: "Mavuzane, dhlula!" These are Zulu expressions which correspond in Ronga to: "Mabutise, thula!" i. e. "Questioner, pass on your way!" Who is this Questioner? It is small-pox itself, Nyedzana, which is more or less personified and looked on as a real and terrible visitor coming at given intervals to examine the country and search for sinners. The great sin which Questioner especially wishes to discover is *baloyi*, murder by witchcraft. Let the patient then confess the acts of bewitchment which he has committed, and he will be spared. If he conceals them, small-pox will kill him. Suppose that the patient so seriously ill is a grown-up woman, the wife of one of the men of the village. Her parents will first be called. The headman and all the inmates of the village will attend the meeting in the hut. "Confess your guilt!" they will all say to the woman. She may answer: "No! I am not a witch" (*Hi noyi!*) They insist: "Do not hide anything." And under the strain of their questions she may say: "Yes! I am a walker in the night! I have eaten so-and-so! I have eaten my own child!" If the patient is a little child, his father will have to make the confession in his stead. He will take the infant in his arms and say: "Mavuzane dhlula! Questioner, pass on your way! Yes! We are baloyi. I have taught my child to eat human bodies! But we will not persist in our bad doings! Go away and leave us in peace!" (1).

(1) We have here one of the cases in which an impersonal force of Nature is treated as if it were a personal being endowed with superhuman power, and invoked. The prayer

timbhorola) which fall on the mat are carefully gathered together, 783
and the bones are consulted to know where they must be thrown 755
(See Letter D). This is the *tumba* rite, following the hondlola. The bones may perhaps have indicated a hole in the trunk of a tree, or the river, or the mud of the marsh, or an ants' nest, or the entrance to a molehill. The physician takes the timbhorola in a piece of broken pot, or sala shell, and introduces them into the hole, which he closes with a little clay ; he has with him water in a little calabash, of which he takes a sip and says : "Tsuu! or

[751]



Fowa and timfisa, medico-magical amulets.

pheuuu! Let the misfortune remain here." On the way home no looking back is allowed : this is taboo. Should the tumba be made in an ants' nest, and should the ants themselves close the hole, this is a very good sign! The bones may perhaps order the particles contained in the sala shell to be placed in another kind of ants' nest, made of grass ; the ñanga will go during the day and prepare a place for the shell. In the evening, when it is dark, he will put the shell into the hole without looking back towards it. The ants will take all the timbhorola down into their nest, and so "the misfortune will remain with them." (Mboza.) — The 751
hondlola rite is generally accompanied by the preparation of 755
protective amulets (timfisa). The nails and hair of the patient are 783
cut, put into small bags of lizard skin and tied round his neck.

751 One frequently meets people wearing this ornament, which also
755 aims at making the cure permanent. Sometimes the nails are those
783 from one hand and foot only. The *psirungulo* i. e. the astragalus of the slaughtered goat, or the beak, claws and some feathers of the hen (p. 410) are also tied round the neck of the patient. This is the *religious amulet*, whilst the lizard bag is the *medico-magical* one. Convalescents are moreover provided with the *fowa*, a kind of rattle, consisting of a root called *sungi* (there is no connection between this word and the sungi of the circumcision school, I. p. 77) contained in a kind of round box made of palm leaf which is tied round the ankle. This is intended to protect them against the perspiration of those who have sexual relations (p. 358). They sometimes wear a little piece of reed filled with a protective powder, as do also nursing mothers during the whole nursing period (1) (I. p. 48).

[527] The hondlola rite also marks the moment when sexual relations, which had been suspended during the disease, are resumed. Celebrating as it does the victory over disease, the day of hondlola
756 is regarded as a fête-day. Beer is prepared as a mark of gratitude to the doctor and "to rejoice his heart." It is also the day of reckoning ; the physician must be paid. This individual has not, however, waited until now to ask for a "refresher." From the commencement of the case it has been necessary to *pfula hwama*, that is to say, to lift the cover of the medicine wallet by means of sixpence or a shilling. At times he has been very anxious to change the medicine, in order to produce a greater effect ; on such

751 (1) I may here mention two other articles which are frequently worn by Thonga Natives : one is the dried seed-pod of the flower of the large Protea bush (sugar bush) which is so common on the slopes of the Drakensberg. It looks like a hard brownish cone, all covered with concentric layers of little square ledges. This cures *vertigo*. Why? No doubt because when it is turned round rapidly, it makes the spectator giddy. It is hung round the neck with a string. This curious remedy is brought back from the Barberton mountains by those who go to work in the Transvaal. The second is a bracelet often seen round little children's wrists, and is made from the skin of a kind of tawny mole, called *tfu'unyana*, which digs its burrows almost on the level of the ground. You can see the earth a little raised all along its track. The *Filaria* parasite, which is often met with in our tribe, also creeps under the skin in a similar way (p. 343). See illustration No. 5. These are two new instances of the principle "similia similibus curantur." Bags filled with snake powder are also often worn as a preventive.

we have just studied, they are attributed either to Heaven or to evil spirits or to the winds. The name of the *wutleka* disease is worthy of notice. This word comes from *wutla*, which means to rob, to seize ; wutleka, the qualificative derivative (Thonga Grammar § 196) means the condition of something taken away. This would seem to be a passive meaning, as if the patient had been robbed by some agent. However, Mankhelu explains the term by saying : "The patient has stolen the *rirabi*" — "a wutle rirabi". *Rirabi* is very closely allied to a word meaning stick ; the old doctor says it is the name of the disease. If this etymology be correct the patient would be considered as having taken the disease by a kind of robbery. But Native etymology must always be accepted with caution.

All these names show how unprecise is the pathological knowledge of the Thongas.

2) As regards the *causes of diseases*, Thongas are groping in the grossest superstition. When a medical man wishes to treat a disease, he first tries to diagnose its cause. The Bantu ñanga does the same, only the difference is that he takes very little notice of the physical symptoms. There is no auscultation, no palpation, no examination of the secretions, blood, saliva, or urine, as these are disgusting and must be covered with sand as soon as possible! The great means of diagnosing a disease is the throwing of bones. There are three great causes of disease : the spirits of the gods, the wizards and the makhumo, defilement from death or from impure persons. A fourth less common cause is Heaven. The bones will reveal by the way in which they fall which is the one to be combated.

3) Their ideas of *contagion* are not much in advance of their other pathological conceptions. The two most dreaded diseases in this respect are consumption (lifuba) and leprosy (nhlokonho). *Consumption* is by no means a new ailment due to civilisation, though it has increased enormously since Thonga boys have gone to the towns. A proof that it has been known for a long time is to be found in its great importance in the ritual. To the Thonga mind it is caused by the *makhumo*, i. e., the contamination of death, or the defilement resulting from contact with a woman in

753 a state of physiological impurity. Hence the law ordering
164 people affected with any of these kinds of makhumo to eat with
751 spoons ; they thus protect themselves against the poison which might cause them to become consumptive. A curious feature in the conception of *contagion* is the following. When Sokis died (I. p. 139) I heard some of those present saying to his sister, who was carrying a child on her shoulders : "Do not cry! If you cry the disease will jump to your baby!" There were two reasons for this warning ; to cry in the presence of misfortune increases
753 the danger tenfold (compare p. 326) ; moreover the contagion of
768 disease is especially to be feared in connection with the relatives of the sick or dead person. Hence the strange custom illustrated on plate p. 26 : when a man dies of consumption his relatives are absolutely forbidden to eat any of the food he may have left. The "luma milomo" ceremony (I. p. 146) is of no use in this case. In former times all his mealies were burnt. Nowadays, however, it is allowable for people outside his family to buy and consume his provision. The large storehouse, illustrated on p. 26, contained the mealies harvested in Sokis' fields. These were sold to strangers, whilst relatives bought other mealies which were stored in the small hut for the use of his widow and children (p. 111). The same reason no doubt explains why the widow of a consumptive must *lahla khombo* with strangers, and not with men of the village (I. p. 206).

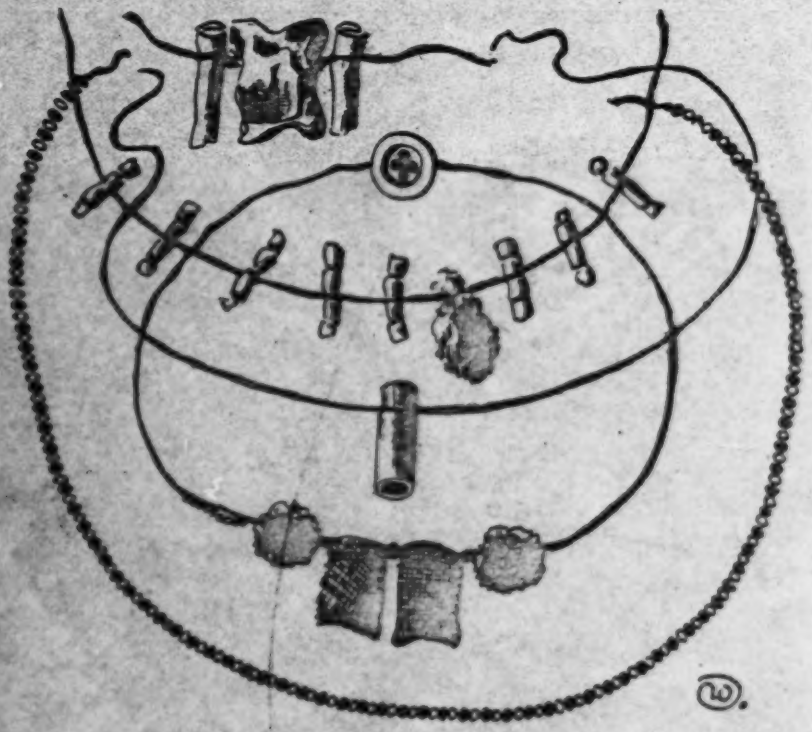
758 This peculiar idea of contagion also gives rise to the rules
766 for *burying lepers*. Their relatives must not have anything to
768 do with the burial (I. p. 508). Relatives-in-law can perform this painful duty, or possibly the family of the deceased leper will ask a friend to help them in their distress. "Have you prepared something as a reward for me?" he asks, and if this is the case he digs a grave just outside the wall of the hut where the patient died, removes the reeds of the wall, and pulls the corpse down into the hole without any funeral ceremony. The relatives are assembled far away on the square, and do not even dare to look on at the burial. All the implements are broken in the depths of the forest, at a great distance, for fear that a relative might touch one of them and die. Or they are left in the hut, and the whole village is at once removed.

756 184 Henceforth he will lead a special life, characterised by protective and propitiatory rites, which tend to the development of his subliminal faculties.

1) Protective rites.

756 751 789 As soon as he was "born again" in the thwaza ceremony, but to a still higher degree later on, after being elevated to the dignity of the magician, the exorcised, having entered the mysterious world of those endowed with powers, becomes the butt of all his colleagues in the magical arts ; first the baloyi, the witches, who *try* him, to see if he is able to discover their evil deeds, and secondly the other magicians, who are annoyed at seeing a rival ready to dispute their practice with them. So he must be continually on his guard ; in the evening, especially, he must protect himself against their nightly charms. The great protective medicine is a pellet made of the powder of many roots, which have been burned and bound together with fat taken from the bowels of a goat. The first of these roots comes from a tree called *mabophe*, found in the Bilen country. This has the power of tying (bopha, in Zulu, means to tie) the knees of the wizards who come during the night, so that they will be found in the morning, stark naked, in the hut of the exorcised. The *nulu* root seems to be used for the same purpose ; the *nsala*, which also enters into the composition of the protective pellets, rather aims at ensuring the success of the treatment undertaken by the new gobela ; as its fruits are plentiful (p. 16), so will the possessed come in great numbers to the doctor. The pellet is used for medical treatment, but the same drugs are also kept in the form of powder, in a piece of reed, or in the calabashes hanging from the forked pole. Every night the exorcised swallows a pinch, and throws another pinch on the fire in his hut. This will prevent enemies from entering, or make them prisoners. Before eating, he must also protect himself by chewing (phora) a little of the *manono*, a kind of antiseptic or anti-witchcraft root as big as a stick, which he always carries with him ; this is the special *luma* (I. p. 146) of the exorcised. Who knows if his food has not been poisoned by the malpractices of his rivals?

When undertaking a journey, he must always chew his *ndjao*, the juncus root which has often been mentioned and which "cleans roads;" this is "his shield," because the ndjao knows and tries (djinga) everything, and overcomes the hostility of man and things. It is the universal remedy against any hostile influence. So, after having chewed, he spits on his stick, rubs it and starts on



Protective amulets worn by exorcised.

his journey, saying: "The road is ripe (wupfile), let us go!" — The astragalus will be the principal charm that the possessed will have to wear, and will be tied round his neck between two little amulet bags or reeds.

The exorcised leads a life of constant fighting against evil spiritual influences. These protective rites are observed all through the year of convalescence.

Another rite, which is observed after the hondlola only, is

Another rite, which is observed after the hondlola only, is
756 the *haza*, viz., the monthly purification of the exorcist. He
783 fills his gobo calabash with a decoction made of the roots of the
821 mphesu and ntjebe trees, drinks the whole, tickles his throat with a feather and vomits the medicine. "A tibasisa ndjen" — "he purifies his inside." This is done at every new moon. The connection between the possessed and the moon, which was first established by the fact that he had *thwaza*[1] as well as the moon, is maintained and intensified by this rite.

2) Propitiatory rites.

751 Besides these protective drugs, the exorcised wears a necklace
756 made of little pieces of a creeper called *mayambatju;* tied together with a munganazi string. See the second necklace in the
782 illustration. This is intended *to calm his gods*, and to scatter
158 them when they desire to come upon him with violence. This is indeed a great danger ; the exorcised is liable to nervous attacks of a dangerous nature, especially during the first few weeks following the exorcism. Perhaps his song is heard in the distance. Then suddenly he is seized with madness, and furiously assaults his neighbours with the small hatchet, or the assagay used in the dances. People run away ; or, on the contrary, they collect and begin to clap their hands, and make their infuriated companion dance and sing his own song. This may help to dispel the spirits, and calm him down. Sometimes, feeling uneasy, foreseeing a crisis, the poor man himself asks them to sing. But he may also be led, in his frenzy, to the bush, far away, unconscious, quite mad, tearing his clothes and his skin with the thorns. This often happened to Ñwashinhwana. Her husband then followed her, and, when the crisis was over, saw her fall down exhausted and brought her home ; there, having returned to her senses, she became very sad and wept bitterly. So, in order to avoid being tormented, the exorcised propitiate their spirits ; they worship them, in truth, and this gives birth to *a new religion* totally different from ancestrolatry, which has its rites and its duties.

756 As already pointed out, the exorcised has *his own altar* in his
778 hut. It is the forked branch, round which a circle of raised clay
782

[1] [See p. 495 -- Analyst]